2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs.

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again.

121
826
171
761
775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms. 776

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form. 775

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost mad on account of them, and on such occasions they need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby. 828 775

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races 114

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but think that he was, when in these fits, living in the distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed
● [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so
562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because
[753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They
776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing
[753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they
178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return!

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, the killing of an animal does not imply the extinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect.

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin.

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth. 772 539

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early." [775]

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appeared to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief 828

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 A very extraordinary piece of lore concerning this matter is embodied in the following. "Some of the old Ainu have told of a large snake which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile was said to be of the feminine gender, of very great length, of a beautiful colour and very charming and seductive to look upon. But she was a very dangerous creature. One day she met an Ainu who was hunting far away among the hills, and tried to seduce him into evil. But he escaped her wiles, whereat she was very angry. As a punishment, she told him that he should be unable to die for a thousand years. And so it came to pass that when he attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, skin and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills of babyhood. As the snake said it should be, so it was. Ten times did he reach the age of a hundred, ten times did he lose his beard, hair and teeth, and ten times did he become a little baby. But when he came to be one thousand years of age he died. His name was Enewa, and this I believe to mean "Existing." At length, however, the mighty woman snake was slain by a man, and as the carcase decomposed the particles thereof became wasps and stinging ants."

Chief Penri told me that the worst kinds of snakes and vipers were originated by a famous Japanese warrior called Yoshitsune, who is said to have fled to Yezo in the twelfth century A.D. and lived for a time in hiding among the Ainu at Piratori. Having stolen a boat from his hospitable friends, he ran away. Being hotly pursued by his host, in his hurry to push his boat away from the river bank, the pole he was pushing off with snapped in two. One part stuck on the bank and became snakes and vipers, that in his hand he cast into the river where it turned itself into eels and lampreys. When I first went to Piratori the Ainu had nothing good to say about this Japanese hero.

● [775 136]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117
when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775
lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it 776]
would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same. 764

After these viands have been properly arranged, the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions. [776]

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell." [775]

After the food, which is called *pakekai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY TO HADES

Speaking of Heaven and Hell, one day a man said to me, "The place to which good people go after death is called the home or land of the gods. There people live in a state of supreme happiness. Though they may be far away under our earth, they yet take a lively interest in what is going on among men living in this our upper world. *Pokna shiri*, i.e. 'the lower world,' is the place to which all spirits go upon leaving their earthly bodies. 772 775

"In the centre of this land there are three roads, the first leading to the upper world in which we now dwell. It goes right to the very centre of Hades, and every person born into this world must traverse this road at some time or other. The second and third roads also start from the middle of Hades and lead, one to Heaven and the other to Gehenna. Watch-dogs are stationed at different points along these roads to direct people on their journey. As soon as the soul of a man gets to the place where the first watch-dog is stationed, the animal informs him that the Creator has sent word through the Goddess of Fire as to where he is to go. If he has been good during his life upon earth, he passes along to Heaven, at the gates of which place gods and men meet him and lead him in. But if it be the soul of a wicked person, a message has been received to say that he must go to Gehenna for punishment. If, however, the spirit denies having done evil, the Goddess of Fire is summoned and she causes a great picture to arise before him, in which is very

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

clearly depicted his whole previous life. Nothing more is needed, for he stands self-condemned and there can be no escape." One wonders if this picture is not the man's memory! Why not?

The word which I have translated by Gehenna is *Teinci-pokna-moshiri*, i.e. "wet underground world." Here the wicked are punished. What that punishment consists in seems to be doubtful. Some say it is very hot there, and others very cold. Some say the very bad people get frozen up in a block of ice in this place, and others that they will live suffering indescribable agonies in fire, which fire exists in the very centre of the world. While good animals go to Heaven with their good masters, evil animals go to Gehenna with their wicked masters. And the Ainu seem to believe that it is a case of "like master, like man" there.

Not only do the people believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious, personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no more death or sorrow. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will be marrying and giving in marriage. But there will be no more pain and suffering. The living fully expect to have bodies in form just like the present ones, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing, their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether have a very material existence.

A curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they are supposed to regard persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They can visit this earth in the form of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling.

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind.

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom
●775 he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was
539 somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals. 342 776

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Sku-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment. 783 776

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *nusa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

917 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

● 775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows:

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored.

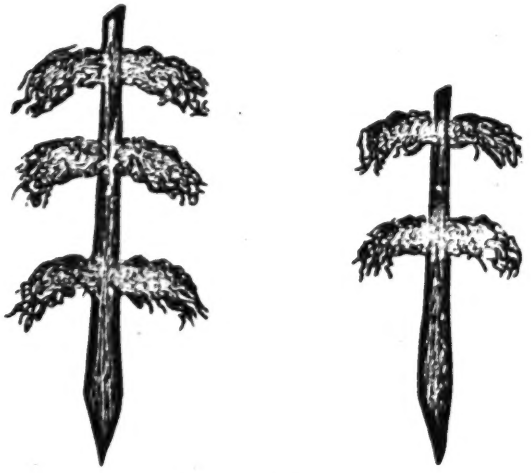
It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *kes-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 775] The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [175] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor.

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in.

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards.

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

makes a poison which they called *Chikoptop*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *remat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three names. First, the most common is *Kamna Moshiri*, i.e. 'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the present material body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact translation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

"They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.

[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

(5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] *Cf.* the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

[556] In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[784] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebehere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

542 HEARTH AND HOME

553 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
[796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as repre-
354 senting one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less fami-
●775 liarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the
dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
[184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits
of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth
(Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty an-
cestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely
if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In
this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1]
kamui, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glow-
ing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every
night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out.
When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During
that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that
the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who
reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery
as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
[782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an
oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is sup-
posed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth
before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were
erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

[Fo. 78, (H)]

1.

2.

3.

4.

[301]
[291]
[531]
[789]
[775]
764
?:Munro & Seligman D, E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death.

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying.

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
● 775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 [774] to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [844]

[1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The 791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] [795] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 [864] The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 778 782 789 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

VI [p.144]

52 The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1).

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual.

The essential components of the ancestor-ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inomo utak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men.

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and